

KEYNOTE SPEECH

(Continued from page 1.)

their promises to hopeless and empty phrases. The mission and spirit of this progressive movement will thrill the republic from end to end.

The Right of the People to Rule.
"The actions of the Chicago convention and to an only less degree of the Baltimore convention have shown in striking fashion how little the people do rule under our present conditions." In order to assure this popular rule Mr. Roosevelt urged the adoption of presidential primaries, popular election of senators, the short ballot, efficient corrupt practices act, qualified use of the initiative and referendum and recall. The recall should be applied to administrative officers.

Mr. Roosevelt asserts that the adoption of these new methods of political administration is not antagonistic to representative government. "All I desire to do by securing more direct control of the governmental agents and representatives of the people is to give the people the chance to make their representatives really represent them whenever the government becomes misrepresentative instead of representative. I have not come to this way of thinking from closest study or as a mere matter of theory. I have been forced to it by a long experience with the actual conditions of our political life."

The Courts and the People.
Under this head Mr. Roosevelt strongly emphasizes the necessity of the sovereign people preserving a check on every branch of public service. Under this head Mr. Roosevelt reiterates his now well known views regarding the courts. "The American people and not the courts are to determine their own fundamental policies." This does not mean that the people are to interfere in cases which involve merely questions of justice between individuals except that "means should be devised for making it easier than at present to get rid of an incompetent judge." But when a judicial decision involves an interpretation of what the people mean by the constitutions which they have framed and laws passed by the people are nullified because the courts say those laws are contrary to the people's will as expressed in their constitution there must be a "reference to the people of the public effect of such decisions under forms securing full deliberation," to the end that the people may rectify this alleged defect in their constitution by a popular vote having all the force of a constitutional amendment. "Our purpose is not to impugn the courts, but to emancipate them from a position whenever they stand finally in the way of social justice. . . . I am well aware that every upholder of privilege, every hired agent or beneficiary of the special interests, including many well meaning reformers, will denounce all this as socialism or anarchy—the same terms they used in the past in denouncing the movements to control the railroads and to control public utilities. As a matter of fact, the propositions I make constitute neither anarchy nor socialism, but, on the contrary, a corrective for socialism and an antidote to anarchy."

Constructive Control of the Trusts.
In addition to punishment for wrongdoing by the trusts, the imperative demand is effective and complete regulation. The views of President Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin in his scientific work on trust regulation are in harmony with the program of the National Progressives. "The present conditions of business cannot be accepted as satisfactory." The reason for this is explained, in Mr. Roosevelt's opinion, by the fact that "those dealing with the subject have attempted to divide into two camps, each as unwise as the other." One camp has fixed its attention only on the need for prosperity—"prosperity to the big man on top, trusting to their mercy to let something leak through to the mass of their countrymen below, which, in effect, means that there should be no attempt to regulate the ferocious scramble in which greed and cunning reap the largest rewards." The other camp has so fixed its attention upon the injustices of the distribution of prosperity, "omitting all consideration of having something to distribute, and advocates action which, it is true, would abolish most of the inequalities of the distribution of prosperity, by only the unfortunately simple process of abolishing the prosperity itself." The tendency of those now in control of the Republican party is to give special privileges to "big business" and to correct the evil of such a course when they become crying by sporadic lawsuits under the anti-trust law. The tendency of the Democrats, judged both by their record in congress and by the Democratic platform, is to abolish all business of any size or efficiency, on the ground that all bigness is business and littleness and weakness a sign of virtue. "What is needed is action directly the reverse of that thus continuously indicated."

There should be applied to all industrial concerns engaged in interstate commerce in which there is either monopoly or control of the market the same remedy adopted "in regulat-

ing transportation concerns engaged in such commerce. The anti-trust law should be kept on the statute book to be invoked against every big concern tending to monopoly or guilty of anti-social practices. At the same time a national industrial commission should be created which should have complete power to regulate and control all the great industrial concerns engaged in interstate business—which practically means all of them in this country. This commission should exercise over those exercised over the railroads by the Interstate commerce commission and over the national banks by the comptroller of the currency and additional powers if found necessary." The commission "should have free access to the books of each corporation and power to find out exactly how it treats its employees, its rivals and the general public. . . . Any corporation voluntarily coming under the commission should not be prosecuted under the anti-trust law as long as it obeys in good faith the orders of the commission. The commission would be able to interpret in advance to any honest man asking the interpretation what he may do and what he may not do in carrying on a legitimate business." When corporations not submitting themselves to the regulations of the commission or clearly evading or violating its orders are prosecuted under the anti-trust law and convicted, the commission should have the duty of seeing "that the degree of the court is put into effect completely." Only in this way can there be avoided "such gross scandals as those attendant upon the present administration's prosecution of the Standard Oil and the tobacco trusts," a prosecution which has merely resulted in increased prices to the public, injury to the small competitor and actual financial benefit to the trusts themselves.

"The Progressive proposal is definite. It is practicable. We promise nothing that we cannot carry out, we promise nothing which will jeopardize honest business. . . . Our proposal is to help honest business activity, however extensive, and to see that it is rewarded with fair return, so that there may be no oppression either of business men or the common people. We propose to make it worth while for our business men to develop the most efficient business agencies for use in international trade, for it is to the interest of our whole people that we should do well in international business. But we propose to make those business agencies do complete justice to our own people. Where these concerns deal with the necessities of life the commission should not shrink, if the necessity is proved, from going to the extent of exercising regulatory control over the conditions that create or determine monopoly prices.

"It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. We are pre-eminently fitted to do this because as a people we have developed high skill in the art of manufacturing; our business men are strong executives, strong organizers. In every way possible our federal government should co-operate in this important matter. Any one who has had opportunity to study and observe first hand Germany's course in this respect must realize that their policy of co-operation between government and business has in comparatively few years made them a leading competitor for the commerce of the world. It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled not by the national government, but by forty-eight conflicting state sovereignties. Such a policy is utterly out of keeping with the progress of the times and gives our great commercial rivals in Europe—hungry for international markets—golden opportunities of which they are rapidly taking advantage."

Social and Industrial Justice to the Wageworkers.
Referring to the opening sentence of his address, namely, "that we are now in the midst of a great economic revolution," Mr. Roosevelt presented an advanced and comprehensive plan to insure the rights and better conditions for labor. He gives it the paramount place in his speech. "The first charge upon the industrial statesmanship of the day," he said, "is to prevent human waste. The dead weight of orphanage and depleted craftsmanship, of crippled workers and workers suffering from trade diseases, of casual labor, of insecure old age and of household depletion due to industrial conditions are, like our depleted soils, our gashed mountain sides and flooded river bottoms, so many strains upon the national structure, draining the reserve strength of all industries and showing beyond all peradventure the public element and public concern in industrial health." He proposed several specific methods for preserving and improving "our human resources, and therefore our labor power." Wage scales and other labor data should be made public; all deaths, injuries and diseases due to industrial operation should be reported to the authorities; wage commissions should be established in the nation and state to determine the minimum wage scale in different industries; the federal government should investigate all industries with a view to establishing standards of sanitation

and safety; there should be mine and factory inspection according to standards fixed by interstate agreement or by the federal government; national and state legislation should establish standards of compensation for industrial accidents and deaths and for diseases clearly due to industrial conditions; for the adoption by law of a fair standard of compensation for casualties resulting fatally which shall clearly fix the minimum compensation in all cases; the monetary equivalent of a living wage varies according to local conditions, but should be sufficiently high to make morality possible and to provide for education, recreation, proper care of the children, maintenance during sickness and reasonable saving for old age; excessive hours of labor should be prohibited for all wage workers, and night labor of women and children should be forbidden; one day of rest in seven should be provided by law; continuous twenty-four hour labor should be divided into three shifts of eight hours by law; tenement house manufacture should be entirely prohibited, and labor camps should be subject to governmental sanitary regulation; all industries employing women and children should be especially subject to government inspection and regulation; insurance funds against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age should be established by a charge either in whole or in part upon the industries; the suffrage should be granted to women if for no other reason to enable working women to combine for their own protection by the use of the ballot. "As a people we cannot afford to let any group of citizens or any individual citizen labor under conditions which are injurious to the common welfare. Industry, therefore, must submit to such public regulation as will make it a means of life and health, not of death or inefficiency."

The Farmer.
"The country life commission should be revived with greatly increased power; its abandonment was a severe blow to our people. The welfare of the farmer is a basic need of this nation." The country school should be brought in touch with country life. For this reason the Progressives approve of government co-operation with the farmer to make the farm more productive. Co-operative associations of farmers both for the production and the selling of agricultural products should be encouraged. "So long as the farmer leaves co-operative activities with their profit sharing to the city man of business, so long will the foundations of wealth be undermined and the comfort of our civilization be impossible in the country communities."

"In every respect this nation has to learn the lessons of efficiency in production and distribution and of avoidance of waste and destruction. We must develop and improve instead of exhausting our resources. It is entirely possible by improvements in production, in the avoidance of waste and in business methods on the part of the farmer to give him an increased income from his farm, while at the same time reducing to the consumer the price of the articles raised on the farm. Important although education is everywhere, it has a special importance in the country. The country school must fit the country life. In the country, as elsewhere, education must be hatched up with life. The country church and the country Young Men's and Young Women's Christian associations have great parts to play. The farmers must own and work their own land. Steps must be taken at once to put a stop to the tendency toward absentee landlordism and tenant farming."

The Tariff.
On the tariff he says: "I believe in a protective tariff, but I believe in it as a principle approached from a standpoint of the interests of the whole people, and not as a bundle of preferences to be given favorite individuals." He believes the American people favor the principle of a protective tariff, but are in rebellion against the wrongdoing and unjust application of that policy and the abuses in past legislation. "It is not merely the tariff that should be revised, but the method of tariff making and of tariff administration." "The first step should be the creation of a permanent commission of nonpartisan experts" of "ample powers" to secure "exact and reliable information." "The present tariff board is entirely inadequate in point of powers reposed in it and scope of work undertaken." The tariff commission in Germany affords a splendid model. This commission must scientifically determine "the difference in the cost of production here and abroad," the effect on "prices to the consumer," insure full justice to the pay envelope of the wage earner. The commission must not attempt to encroach on the tariff making power of congress. It shall report with full publicity and promptly. The tariff shall be revised schedule by schedule to avoid the "staggering blows to business" incident to former general revisions. The effect will be to wipe out the "log rolling and vote trading" secured by special interests in the past. "Only by this means can tariff be taken out of politics." "The substitution of a tariff for revenue only, as proposed by the Democratic platform, would plunge this country into the most widespread industrial depression we have ever seen." The revision shall be downward and

not upward and secure a square deal not merely to the manufacturer, but to the wage worker and to the general consumer.

The High Cost of Living.
"The cost of living," says Mr. Roosevelt, "has risen during the last few years out of all proportion to the increase of most salaries and wages." What is first necessary is "fearless, intelligent and searching inquiry into the whole subject, made absolutely by a nonpartisan body of experts with no prejudice to warp their mind, no private object to serve, who shall recommend any necessary remedy heedless of what interest may be hurt thereby and caring only for the interests of the people as a whole." The Republicans promise such an inquiry, but their rank dishonesty of action at the Chicago convention "makes their every promise worthless." It is hopeless to turn to the Democratic party for relief, because first the Democratic party "affects to find the entire high cost of living in the tariff," ignoring the patent fact that the problem is world wide, equally pressing in free trade England and in highly protected Germany. Moreover, if the Democrats are sincere they must take all duties of the products of the farmer, and we "certainly cannot afford to have the farmer struck down." Various elements, economic, political and social, are pointed out by Mr. Roosevelt as contributing to the high cost of living. But effective legislation remedying it can only be founded on a comprehensive scale after a thorough, scientific and prompt inquiry.

"There is no more serious delusion than that the Democratic platform is a progressive platform. The Democratic platform, representing the best thought of the acknowledged Democratic leaders at Baltimore, is purely retrogressive and reactionary. There is no program in it. It represents an effort to go back—to put this nation of 100,000,000, existing under modern conditions, back to where it was as a nation of 25,000,000 in the days of the stagecoach and camelback. Such an attitude is tyrannism, not progressivism."

The Currency.
Mr. Roosevelt declares that our present bank currency based on government bonds is unsound and urges the adoption of a system which shall provide "elasticity in the credit and currency necessary for the conduct of business, free from recurring panics." The control of such a system should be in the hands of the government and must be free from "manipulation by Wall street or the large interests."

Conservation.
Under this head Mr. Roosevelt reaffirms his well known policy on the conservation and reclamation of national resources. We must conserve our soil, our forests, our mines, not only for our own benefit, but for the benefit of our children and descendants. "The public should not alienate its fee in the water power which will be of incalculable value as a source of power in the immediate future" and "we should undertake the complete development and control of the Mississippi as a national work, just as we have undertaken the work of building the Panama canal."

Alaska.
"In Alaska the government has an opportunity of starting in what is almost a fresh field to work out various problems by actual experiment." I should at once construct, own and operate all the railroads in Alaska. I should keep the fee of all coal fields and allow them to be operated by lease with the condition in the lease that non-use shall operate as a forfeit. A system of land taxation should be tried which promotes the actual use of land and discourages the holding of land for speculation. The telegraph lines should be owned and operated by the government.

International Affairs.
"In international affairs this country should behave toward other nations exactly as an honorable private citizen behaves toward other private citizens." Our small army should have efficiency; the navy must be steadily built up until "it proves possible to secure by international agreement a general reduction of armaments;" the Panama canal must be fortified. Panama canal tolls on deep water commerce should be uniform to all nations, including ourselves. American coastwise vessels should pass through the canal free, for this would be no discrimination against foreign nations and would give us reasonable competition with transcontinental railroads. No foreign treaty should be entered into which we do not mean to scrupulously observe in every particular.

Conclusion.
In summing up the specific policies expounded in his address Mr. Roosevelt spoke as follows:
"Now, friends, this is my confession of faith. I have made it rather long because I wish you to know just what my deepest convictions are on the great questions of today, so that if you choose to make me your standard bearer in the fight you shall make your choice understanding exactly how I feel—and if, after hearing me, you think you ought to choose some one else I shall loyally abide by your choice. The convictions to which I have come have not been arrived at as the result of study in the cloist or the library."

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